A Critical Stylistic Analysis of Pastor Tunde Bakare's Political Thoughts on Leadership and Citizenship Tasks in Consolidating Nigeria's Democracy

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Abstract
One aspect of Nigeria's national life where the Pentecostal movement has impacted on the directions of national discourse in terms of political activism is how some Pentecostal pastors interrogate the essentials of nurturing Nigeria's fledgling democracy. This article examines the use of linguistic resources to thread ideology in Pastor Tunde Bakare's selected political teachings which explore leadership-citizenship responsiveness required for building an enduring democratic culture in Nigeria. Data for the study were collected from the pastor-activist's "State of the Nation" blog between January 2016 and January 2017 at a critical time when Nigeria was sliding into the depths of a recession. The study applies the tools of Jeffries' (2010) Critical Stylistics – a sub-discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – to analyse the linguistic threads which convey the ideology of the text. The study shows that the discourse producer is radical in the ideological structuring of the text to ignite the nationalistic obligations of the audience towards consolidating democratic norms and values in line with global best practices. It also shows that he creatively deploys stylistic markers which fit in with the political context-cum-rhetoric of mobilising his audience for political action.

Introduction

Given the robust religion-state relations in national development, the Nigerian political sphere has witnessed the emergence of a religious bloc which has considered it both a religious and political responsibility to intervene in the dynamics of socio-political currents. Burgess (2015) refers to this epoch as "third democratic revolution". It essentially involves the struggle for sustainable democracy in Nigeria where churches and political leaders play active roles beyond the pulpit. In regard to this development, Burgess (2015, pp. 39-40) writes:

> Recently, some Pentecostal leaders have adopted more long-term strategies by establishing new institutions, and organising conferences and training programmes geared towards reforming cultural values and practices. I argue that these initiatives offer the most potential to reshape politics and achieve a democratic culture, even if it may be some time before the wider society feels their impact.

Thus, in the vanguard of the current interface of politics and religion in Africa are Pentecostal pastors who mobilise their moral authority to critique government and encourage their church members in civic participation (Adelakun, 2018). Political activism has, therefore, taken a centre stage in the responsibilities of religious leaders in nation-states beyond their primary spiritual engagements in their respective domains. The pulpit has arguably become a real platform regularly exploited by pastors to convey political messages.

Among Nigerian Christian religious leaders who have been active in interrogating issues of nation building as they relate to democratic practice and culture in Nigeria is Pastor Tunde Bakare, the General Overseer of The Citadel Global Community Church (CGCC) formerly known as The Latter Rain Assembly, Lagos. He has emerged as a household name within the Pentecostal circle in Nigeria and even internationally considering his media presence and televangelism. He constantly engages issues of national development

with periodic political speeches on his "State of the Nation" blog. Beyond his political engagement via the pulpit, his political activism has been socially promoted via his civil society group, Save Nigeria Group (SNG), which has been in the vanguard of political agitations against unconstitutional matters in Nigeria's democratic practice. In 2009, when President Umar Musa Yar'Ardua left a political vacuum in the Presidency by not constitutionally handing over to the Vice-President Goodluck Jonathan while on medical tourism, Burgess (2013, pp. 36-37) notes the intervention of Pastor Tunde Bakare thus:

> One of the leading voices calling for the transfer of power was Pentecostal pastor Tunde Bakare of the Latter Rain Assembly in Lagos. His Save Nigeria Group (SNG) became the main vehicle for political agitation, organising street protests in Lagos and Abuja which eventually forced the National Assembly to declare Jonathan the acting President [...]. The scale and nature of the SNG-led protests marked a significant departure for Pentecostals. Since then the SNG has become one of the leading civil society groups in Nigeria, earning Bakare the popular Newswatch magazine's "Man of the Year" award for 2010.

Beyond this account, Tunde Bakare also organised mass rallies in opposition to unfavourable government policies, among which was the "#Occupy Nigeria" movement against fuel price hike during the tenure of Goodluck Jonathan in January 2012. The rally has been considered the biggest political protest in Nigeria's recent history (Ayobade, 2015). Generally, Bakare engages political players constructively through the pulpit and demands effective leadership in the Nigerian socio-political environment. Osasona (2017) observes that Bakare often decries in his messages issues such as the mismanagement of the nation's economic resources, infrastructural collapse, and prevalent corruption. His pedigree as social thinker and activist probably enhanced his credentials for his nomination as a delegate at the 2014 National Conference to discuss the Nigerian project and the way forward.

Given Pastor Tunde Bakare's incisive political teachings on socio-political challenges in Nigeria, it is compelling for the political

discourse analyst to investigate the rhetorical tools appropriated in the task of encoding ideology in the text of his political teachings on leadership-citizenship engagements. In so doing, we will be interested in how Tunde Bakare attempts to utilise the pulpit to engage in political education. Political education is a process through which individuals acquire beliefs and values relevant to the dynamics, challenges and expectations of a political system. Nwakwo (2012) explains that political education encapsulates the non-formal ways of orienting or even re-orienting the citizenry for greater participation in national development processes. For Ugwuja, Rotimi and Onwuasoayan (2015, p. 3), political education is "conceptualised as any form of education which helps to make the Nigerian citizens better informed about the country's political systems and processes so that they can participate meaningfully in the country's democratic dispensation."

Therefore, the aim of this study is to analyse the stylistic devices which serve as the rhetorical tools with which Tunde Bakare conveys his political thoughts in the selected political teachings analysed in this study. Against this backdrop, the theoretical approach of the study derives from Jeffries' (2010, p. 1) view on the rationale for engaging in critical stylistics which is to "[...] provide a reasonably broad range of tools which would help to explain how texts are in a position to persuade the reader to alter or adapt her/his ideological outlook to match that of the text."

Justification for the Study
Considering the interface of leadership and citizenship in national development and the interest of scholars in this regard, on the one hand, and the preoccupation of linguists of diverse persuasions to analyse religious discourse, on the other hand, we consider it necessary to highlight the foci of some studies in these research domains with a view to showing the knowledge gap(s) that the present study intends to address.

Some studies have examined the question of how sustained poor political leadership has vitiated democratic consolidation in Nigeria, particularly in respect of turning the country's potential into enviable economic and political power (Nwagboso and Duke, 2012; Ejimabo, 2013; Gberevbie, Shodipo and Oviasogie, 2013; Oni, 2014; Asaju, Arome and Mukaila, 2014; Akinbi, 2015; Onwumah, 2015; Ake and Olowojolu, 2016; Adetoro and Omiyefa, 2017; Onodugo,

2016; Okaneme, 2017; Odia, 2019). Generally, these studies have interrogated the Nigerian situation and attributed the underdevelopment in different sectors of Nigeria's socio-political and economic sectors to poor and corrupt leadership in the country. It is interesting that a good number of these studies have equally dwelt on the prospect of strengthening the leadership in line with the norms and values of established democracies around the world.

As regards the issue of public participation in political processes, some scholars have investigated how citizens' participation in governance is a crucial factor in providing an enabling environment for the leadership to function in democratic settings (Gaventa, 2002; Arowolo and Aluko, 2012; Falade, 2014; Muse and Narsiah, 2015; Eniayejuni and Evcan 2015; Umezurike and Danfulani, 2015; Igbokwe-Ibeto and Osakede, 2017; Nkwede, 2019). It is the contention of most of these studies that public participation in governance in Nigeria has not been impressive due to some systemic lapses. Thus, certain measures need to be put in place to raise the level of citizenship participation in nurturing democratic norms and values.

There are also studies which have also explored the discourse of Pentecostal pastors (as we will see presently in the literature review) and applied the tools of sociolinguistics, rhetoric, stylistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, and metaphor analysis, among others, to explore mainly spiritual matters. Few of such studies have investigated how Pentecostal pastors in Nigeria exploit the pulpit to address the requisites for consolidating Nigeria's democracy, particularly the question of leadership and citizenship tasks. It is this lacuna that the present study focuses on by exploring Tunde Bakare's conception of leadership and citizenship engagement in democratic consolidation, on the one hand, and the linguistic choice the preacher appropriates to thread ideology in the text, on the other hand. Our preoccupation with his linguistic choice is justified in terms of the rhetorical potential of the text. Bloor and Bloor (2007) observe that rhetorical effect is achieved by stylistic devices, arguing that Aristotle was not only concerned with the productive aspect of rhetoric but also the receptive which emphasises "the way audiences interpret discourse and the extent to which they are persuaded by stylistic devices" (p. 68).

Literature Review

The influence of the Church in state affairs has become an inseparable part of political processes in many nation-states. The intersection between religion and politics in the United States of America and South Africa, for instance, has been a subject of intense studies. The role of evangelical Protestant pastors' sermons in shaping American politics in the wave of the political engagement termed the "political pulpit" has been studied (Greenawalt, 1994; Campbell, 2004; Brantley, 2012; Matthew, 2018; Stokes, Chikotsky and Billings, 2018; Audette, Brockway and Cornejo, 2020). In these studies, the scholars have noted that evangelical Protestant churches serve to mobilise their members into politics, thereby suggesting that Evangelicalism promotes the development of civic skills necessary for political engagement. As regards the political preaching of Desmond Tutu in South Africa, scholars have studied his sermons, speeches and letters, offering perspectives on his ethical political preaching (Riggle, 2007; Johan, 2015a; Johan, 2015b; Kokobili, 2019). In particular, scholars have emphasised Desmond Tutu's fight against apartheid regime by preaching justice and equality among the South African people. Also, his efforts towards reconciliation and peaceful co-existence of all South Africans in the post-apartheid era have been the core of his public advocacy. In all, scholars have established the non-violent approach adopted by Desmond Tutu in his sermons and public participation in activities clamouring for national unity, love, and equality of all South Africans.

Aspects of the study of religion and the Nigerian state have explored diverse issues relating to politics and religion in a secular state and their implications for national development. Jegede (2013) examines the issue of church-state relations, interrogating the impact of the Church on Nigerian politics from 1999-2011 in the areas of electoral processes and legitimising government at all levels. The paper concludes that the Church is obliged to take interest in what happens in the political arena, drawing upon biblical basis for Christian participation in politics. Burgess (2013) investigates the contributions of the Nigerian Pentecostal movement to Christian mission, especially in relation to civic engagement in the context of poverty and violence, clarifying the concept "civic engagement" as "people's connections with the life of their community" as they relate to "activities designed to address issues of public life whether through social service provision or political action" (p. 29). The

study notes that despite the tag of "prosperity preachers" attached to some Nigerian Pentecostal pastors, some pastors and churches are rebranding themselves as social and political campaigners contributing to the betterment of their communities.

Sampson (2014) seeks to situate the legal and constitutional frontiers of state-religion relations in Nigeria with the intent to delineate the conceptual boundary between religion and politics. The study evaluates the impact of the current relationship on national security. Gaiya (2015) assesses the role of charismatic Pentecostal churches, particularly of the Lagos axis, arguing that instead of strictly advocating spiritual solutions to national challenges, they are frontally confronting social and political problems by emphasising meeting social needs in practical ways. Agbiji and Swart (2015) attempt a reappraisal of how the Christian religious leadership in present-day Nigeria is beginning to exert itself as an emerging movement for sustainable transformational development through particular institutional arrangements and modes of social engagement. The study reflects on the outstanding contribution as well as the challenges that the Christian religious leadership still faces in meeting the agenda of sustainable transformational development. Yesufu (2016) explores the impacts of religions on certain aspects of Nigerians living within a secular state. The study concludes that the impact of religion in a secular state seems to have played out negatively in Nigeria, as politics and religion are mixed in the attempt to gain political hold on the population.

Apart from the foci of the studies considered above, some have, however, explored the discourse of religious sermons by analysing the linguistic peculiarities of the sermons produced by Nigerian Pentecostal pastors. Aremu (2013) analyses features of Nigerian English in the English usage of Pentecostal pastors in South-western Nigeria. The study finds that such features are attributable to the socio-cultural knowledge of the participants and the contact linguistic situation of the Nigerian multilingual setting. Kamalu and Tamunobelema (2015) study the rhetorical and ideological nuances of the speech of Bishop David Oyedepo as Pentecostal Christian University Chancellor produced in a purely social/academic context. The study underlines the use of rhetorical strategies to tease out ideologies against the backdrop of constructing a positive attitude to life's challenges in a Third World economy. Awonuga and Chimuanya (2016) investigate the syntactic devices in

selected Nigerian preachers' sermons, analysing two sermons by Pastor Paul Enemche of Dunamics International Gospel Centre and Pastor Chris Oyakhilome of Christ Embassy with a view to finding out how their preferences for certain linguistic devices affect meaning in relation to the goals of their messages in addition to using such linguistic features to characterise language use by Nigerian Pentecostal preachers.

Okpeh (2017) explores the place of context in the use and interpretation of metaphors in Christian Pentecostal Discourse, drawing upon the sermons of three Pentecostal preachers – David Oyedepo, Daniel Olukoya and Chris Oyakhilome. Applying the tenets of Cameron's Discourse Dynamics Approach to metaphor analysis and Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis, the study reveals that an understanding of the discourse functions of metaphors in the Christian Pentecostal discourse derives largely from contextual considerations of the domain of production and reception of the discourse. Aremu (2017) examines the use of discourse initiators for audience participation in selected church crusades in South-western Nigeria. Focusing on the preaching tags "Tell me" and "Unspeakable joy", the study contributes to the pragmatics of Christian ministration discourse by applying Sperber and Wilson's (1995) Relevance theory. The study reveals that interpreting the encoder's intention requires the audience to engage certain pragmatic tools like inference, reference assignment, disambiguation and shared knowledge. Finally, Akhimien and Farotimi (2018) analyse conversational features and discourse strategies in select sermons of Pastor E. A. Adeboye with a view to describing the role such features play in influencing audience perception and response to achieve the speaker's goals. The study reveals that the speaker creatively combines verbal and non-verbal features in the sermons to enhance audience involvement in the communication process.

Methodology
The data for the study are selected political teachings of Pastor Tunde Bakare sourced from his dedicated website "State of the Nation" available at www.tundebakare.com. The data were purposively sampled to reflect the pastor-activist's teachings on the leadership question and citizenship responsibility in national development. Two political messages, namely "Roadmap to Successful Change" and "Looking into the Future with the Eyes of Faith" were selected for

analysis in this study. The first speech was produced in January 2016, while the second was produced in January 2017. The two speeches appraise the prevalent socio-economic and political developments in the country in the wake of the seeming challenges of making the "Change Agenda" of the Muhammadu Buhari-led All Progressives Congress (APC) meet the huge expectations of the electorate in relation to tackling corruption, insecurity and poverty.

The data were also sourced to reflect the pastor-activist's interrogation of serious issues about citizenship responsibilities in nurturing an emerging democracy, re/defining leadership beyond the confines of some political figures in the corridors of power and charging political leaders to be visionary, particularly in respect of turning the economic situation around for good. The study employed a descriptive analytical method whereby the linguistic resources appropriated by the text producer were analysed to reflect the ideology underlying the text and the rhetorical goal of re-orientating the audience towards rising up to the political and economic challenges in the country.

Theoretical Framework
This study adopts Critical Stylistics as its theoretical framework. Critical Stylistics is a linguistic method of analysis associated with Lesley Jeffries and initiated with the publication of her work *Critical Stylistics: The Power of English* (2010). Critical Stylistics as a version of Critical Discourse Analysis is a derivation from two previously established approaches to textual analysis – CDA and Stylistics. CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to the study of discourse which views language as a form of social practice. CDA investigates the construction of ideology and power relations in language use (van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2002; Fairclough, 2003). CDA is not only interested in the description and interpretation of discourses in social context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work (Rogers, 2004). Stylistics is concerned with the application of linguistic principles for the purpose of gaining entrance into textual meaning. Simpson (2004, p. 3) explains that "to do stylistics is to explore language, and, more specifically, to explore creativity in language use". Stylistics offers the scientific means of exploring how readers interact with linguistic structure or form in order to explain how we understand, and are affected by texts when we read them.

Jeffries (2010) states that one major limitation of applying CDA approach to analysing questions of power and ideology in language is the emphasis on contextual features of powerful language with less attention on how "to explain how texts are in a position to persuade the reader to alter or adapt her/his ideological outlook to match that of the text" (p. 1). Hence, Critical Stylistics provides "*specific tools of analysis* to get a clear sense of how texts may influence the ideological outlook of their recipients" (Jeffries, 2010, p. 6). Alaghbary (2013, p.138) states that the primary concern of Critical Stylistics is "[...] to study in purely linguistic terms the mechanisms by which ideology is interwoven into linguistic choice".

Jeffries (2010) proposes ten analytical tools which could be employed to tease out the ideology underlying a text. However, we highlight only the tools which we consider relevant for our present purposes. They are as follows:

- Naming and Describing: This tool explores how texts "name" the world by the choice of nouns, noun modification, and nominalisation techniques to express ideologies.
- Equating and Contrasting: It is concerned with how texts structure the world in terms of equivalence and opposition. It involves the creation of new and unorthodox parallels and opposites.
- Exemplifying and Enumerating: These are overlapping textual functions which involve listing of items to show the open-endedness or comprehensiveness of a list.
- Representing time, space and society: It is concerned with the textual process by which the fundamental features of time, space and society are constructed for a "text world".

In applying these relevant tools, we will draw upon Jeffries' orientation as a stylistician who is interested in applying two of Fairclough's (1989, p. 26) three "dimensions" of analysing a text using a CDA approach. These two are: (i) description which is the stage concerned with formal properties of the text; and (ii) interpretation which is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction. Further, despite the quest of stylistics to describe the workings of text, both literary and non-literary, the analysis of the data tends towards a cognitive stylistics orientation "[...] to consider the reader's (or hearer's) construction of meaning, in addition to

meaning as it might be decoded from the page" (Jeffries, 2010, p. 2). This cognitive stylistics orientation, Jeffries (2010) argues, has something to offer a more practically oriented version of CDA.

Analysis and Discussion
This section is devoted to analysing Pastor Tunde Bakare's linguistic choice in threading the ideology which underlies the selected teachings. It is divided into two sub-sections which analyse the political messages in turn.
"Roadmap to Successful Change": Bakare's Charge for Visionary and Accountable Leadership
This political message entitled "Roadmap to Successful Change" was delivered on Sunday January 10, 2016 mainly to address the problem of inept leadership and its adverse effects on national development in Nigeria. However, contrary to the general assumption that leadership is about certain figures in exalted political offices, Bakare tries to expatiate the traits of leadership requisite to realistic nation building thus:

> The buzzword in our nation today is "change". It was perhaps the key word and message that brought President Muhammadu Buhari to power as he campaigned all over the country on APC's platform.
> Now that the election is over, it is incumbent upon us all, citizens and government, to do all in our collective power to ensure that we are not short-changed by the change we so desired and voted for. Therefore, to ensure we are on the same page regarding how we define change, I have chosen a text of Scripture by Apostle Paul who definitely knew about change.

One interesting aspect of the political message is the preacher's reflection on the state of the nation after the 2015 general elections in which Muhammadu Buhari emerged as the President. In order to impress upon his audience the expediency of civic engagement, the speaker chooses to use the critical stylistic tool of representing time (before the election and after the election) so as to probably separate the euphoria of election campaign (promises) from the reality on ground in tackling national developmental challenges. The first stylistic marker which deserves analysis in this extract is deixis.

According to Levinson (1983, p. 54), "[d]eixis refers to the phenomenon wherein understanding the meaning of certain words and phrases in an utterance requires contextual information. Words or phrases that require contextual information to convey meaning are deictic". The contextual information of the utterance consists of information about the speaker, the addressee, the time and the place. Of the different categories of deixis, viz., personal, spatial, temporal, social and discourse deixis, it is the temporal deixis that is significant in the extract. It refers to an event of an utterance, which takes place any time relative to the speaking time and is, therefore, represented by tense and time adverbials, among others (Stapleton, 2016).

Using the temporal deictic elements "today" and "now" in the utterances: "The buzzword in our nation today is "change" and "Now that the election is over […]" respectively, the rhetor seeks to charge his audience to engage in the practice or culture of political accountability which will put leaders on their toes when the euphoria of winning elections is over. With emphasis on the temporal deictic elements "today" and "now", the speaker appears to provoke the audience to assess the performance level of the change agenda of the Buhari administration in terms of socio-political and economic development recorded after the government had taken over the reins of power in May 2015. The function performed by these deictic elements fall within the motivational aspect of deixis as pointed out by Rahayu and Kurniawan (2020) who underline the use of deictic expressions in motivation speeches to persuade the audience to trust the speaker and also to motivate them. Put differently, the speaker seeks to charge the audience not to rest on their oars given the prevailing political developments in the country but to demand accountability from the leadership of the APC government in terms of living to its campaign promises anchored on the change agenda. Accountability in politics, according to Osakwe (2011, p. 2) "[…] means that a political party or candidate who makes promises in elections must be able to deliver on the promises" but when the reverse is the case, the electorate "in turn have the moral obligation to ask for the recall of the elected officer". It is this system of checks and balances in order to check excesses or abuse of office that the political rhetor tries to institutionalise by motivating his audience.

The repetition of the nominal element "change" four times in the excerpt is stylistic. "Change Agenda" was the campaign slogan of the All Progressives Congress (APC) in the 2015 general elections.

Therefore, by repeating the word in this speech, the rhetor tries to invoke all associated meanings about it and their implications for the political and economic development of the country as promised by the APC. Malyshkina, Goroshko, Shevchenko and Logunova (2018, pp. 44-45) explain the function of repetition as a rhetorical device thus:

> Repetition not only attracts the reader's attention to an important segment in the text and promotes coherence of it, but also serves to create a particular effect: the more is said about someone or something, the more attention is switched to another object. Repetition is the background on which other brighter semantic elements of the text appear. Repetition helps to understand the information embedded in the text as the reader's attention, primarily draws new information, and the background appears already known required for better perception of the new material.

With the repetition of the word "change" in the speech and the underlying new information that the speaker intends that the audience draw from it, it appears that the speaker is charging the audience to assess the performance level of the government so that the people would know whether the campaign promises of the APC government anchored on the change agenda have been fulfilled or not, hence the metaphoric reference to being wary so as not to be "short-changed". The metaphor of "short-change" used by the speaker here appears to be a parody of the concept of change which ordinarily should be interpreted as positive change in the political context of the people expecting the government of the APC to turn around the socio-political and economic development of the country. Anticipating a situation of "short-change" instead of (positive) change thus serves as a red alert warning to hold the government accountable to its promises. According to Charteris-Black (2011, p. 28), "[…] rhetorically, metaphors contribute to mental representations of political issues, making alternative ways of understanding these issues more difficult and in so doing 'occupy' the mind."

Emphasising a sense of collective responsibility towards ensuring the successful institutionalisation of political accountability in Nigeria's democracy, the rhetor further employs two stylistic

devices: (i) personal deictic elements "us" (objective case) and "we" (subjective case); and (ii) naming strategy with the use of noun in apposition "citizens and government" in the expression: "[…] it is incumbent upon us all, citizens and government, to do all in our collective power to ensure that we are not short-changed by the change we so desired and voted for." In this utterance, the speaker tries to engineer solidarity among an inclusive group, thereby forging a working relationship between two entities "citizens and government". The fact that the speaker does not exclude the citizens from the actors for realistic change drives his message of making his audience realise that citizens are equally actors in nation building. Thus, the discursive practice of using personal pronouns in this speech serves the rhetorical function of bonding a team or a group with shared responsibilities.

The need for consensus building is further harped upon when the preacher draws upon a realistic political change in the *Holy Bible* as recorded in the book of Zephaniah chapter 3 where there was a turnaround from wickedness to prosperity. Although the speaker prays for that kind of change to be replicated in the Nigerian situation, he adds a caveat:

> […] for that to happen, we all have to start acting differently at all levels: individual, organisational and societal. For this to happen a crystal clear direction must be provided by leadership at all levels: parents, teachers, CEOs, religious leaders and especially leaders in government.

It is intriguing that the speaker emphasises collective responsibility in re/defining leadership with his choice of re/naming leadership in the spatial element "at all levels" which is a signifier to re/construct and also reconfigure space in harnessing resources for national development. Further, the repetition of the element in the excerpt is stylistic, as it emphasises the thrust of the discourse. In the first instance of its use, the speaker goes ahead to use the enumeration technique as a critical stylistic tool to define the levels intended: "individual, organisational and societal". The graduation of the levels in the use of these adjectives from the micro to macro by the speaker is a rhetorical attempt to go beyond the narrow conception of nation building as being the responsibility of a selected few. In the second

instance of the use of the spatial signifier "at all levels", it occurs as a post-modifying element in a nominal group "leadership at all levels", further emphasising that leadership is not the usual narrow definition of a few privileged figures acting in a certain capacity to drive national development.

Therefore, in enumerating different types of leaders, the speaker attempts to re/construct identity for the kind of leadership which would holistically impact society for good. Naming the figures "parents, teachers, CEOs, religious leaders and especially leaders in government" is an enumeration technique of specifying the different categories of leadership in society required for the turnaround. The technique extends leadership responsibility across several domains of national life, viz., education, family, institutions and establishments, religion, and government. However, one must not lose sight of the emphatic adverb "especially" used to locate "leaders in government" as the arrowhead of the revolution. In using the emphatic adverb, the speaker appears to still place the responsibility on a certain group to provide direction and inspiration in the revised organogram of political participation.

Bakare's political thoughts explored in the speech analysed in this section are further consolidated in the other speech to be analysed in the next section.

"Looking into the Future with the Eyes of Faith": Bakare the Prophet of Possibilities

Bakare discusses in this sermon "Looking into the Future with the Eyes of Faith", which was delivered on Sunday January 8, 2017, some challenges facing the country by reviewing the year 2016 when Nigeria started experiencing serious economic downturn. He, however, believes the situation is redeemable provided all stakeholders in the nation will rise to the occasion.

Bakare introduces the sermon with the ideology that citizens are instrumental to the development of any nation, particularly in a democratic setting. Citizens should not be mere spectators who cannot hold the leaders they voted accountable for their in/actions. Thus, Bakare has this to say:

> Fellow citizens of our great country, we are gathered here again at the turn of the year, as has become customary, to take a timely look at our nation – to

210

examine its social, economic and political landscapes, to test the solidity of its value pillars, to interrogate its spiritual foundations, and to envision its future. We do this, first of all, in keeping with the obligations of that high office, the Office of the Citizen […], then as patriots and nation builders, and ultimately as watchmen who understand the times and know what the nations ought to do, having been commissioned by God to bring direction to Nigeria, our primary place of assignment.

In the excerpt, the speaker attempts to re/define citizenship relative to contribution to national development, using the critical stylistic tool of naming and describing. Therefore, he tries to educate the people with the use of nominal groups to describe the agents of change, their responsibilities, and their locale of operation. As such, the repeated use of the first person plural pronoun "we" in the structures: "We are gathered […]" and "We do this […]" is rhetorically significant. The essential meaning of "we" is collective identity or group membership and it can be used to state an institutional identity which is achieved when a person speaks on behalf of, or as a representative of, an institution (Ekawati, 2016). The functions of the pronoun "we" can be divided into two main types which are the inclusive "we" and the exclusive "we". The inclusive "we" refers to the speaker and his audiences while the exclusive "we" excludes an audience, but refers to the speaker and other third parties. In this sense, Kaewrungruang and Yaoharee (2018) underline Brown and Gilman's (1960) explication of the asymmetrical power relations through the choices of pronouns in political discourse. Kaewrungruang and Yaoharee (2018) note that there are different ideologies between the subjective pronouns "we" and "they" and the objective pronouns "us" and "them", as "we" is usually used to highlight the good relationship of the speaker and the listeners while "they" is used to separate the self and others. In the context of the extract being analysed, the speaker favours the use of the inclusive "we" for the purposes of aligning the views of the audience with his ideology of the imperative of civic engagement for democratic consolidation.

On this note, Bakare, in keeping faith with one of the ideals of democracy that power resides with the people, uses the naming and describing strategy to creatively and ideologically carve out a

211

portfolio for the citizens as seen in the nominal groups: "the obligations of that high office" and "the Office of the Citizen". Ordinarily, because of the fledgling democratic practice in Nigeria, one would not assign the nominal "office" to tag the operational base of the citizens in national development. Literally, most people would see an "office" as that confined space in an establishment where individuals render services for the growth of a system and are thereby remunerated. But Bakare in this text does not seem to refer to this common parlance. In fact, his use of the adjective "high" to qualify the noun "office" in "that high office" draws attention to the importance the speaker attaches to the office. Usually, before an office can be regarded as high in any set up, the occupant would belong to the enviable echelon in society where a president, governor, senate president or inspector general of police holds sway. But Bakare in his political thoughts teaches otherwise, seeing "the Office of the Citizen" as that exalted position with very enormous obligations. Graphologically, the use of the capital letters in "Office" and "Citizen" draws attention to the unusual exaltation that Bakare tries to bring to the fore in the ideological promotion of the citizenry as a vital stakeholder in national development.

As occupants of "that high office", one is curious to know the responsibilities the redefined citizens will be carrying out. In this light, the nominal group "the obligations" post-modified with the prepositional phrase "of that high office" is further categorised into an array of further nominal groups: "patriots", "nation builders" and "watchmen" which are used to name and describe the supposed occupiers of the "high office". Of the three forms of identity constructed for the citizens as active participants in national development, the metaphorical use of "watchmen" (and even "watchwomen") in the text is stylistic. It is a signifier for the kind of vigilance citizens should have in putting the leadership on its toes with respect to how well they adhere to the ideals of governance/democracy in terms of obeying the rule of law, doing due diligence, applying the principle of justice and fair play in leading the people, managing the commonwealth of the nation instead of the massive looting cases that are reported in the media on a regular basis. It is interesting how Bakare further uses the strategy of naming and describing in the modification technique of post-modifying the noun "watchmen" with two relative clauses: "who understand the times" and "[who] know what the nation ought to do". In so doing,

the speaker clearly defines the obligations of the "watchmen" of democracy. It is noteworthy how the speaker chooses the verbs of perception and cognition "understand" and "know" with the objects "the time" and "what the nations ought to do" respectively to emphasise citizenship responsibility in nurturing democracy.

The metaphorical use of "watchmen" in the text has an intertextual reference to Nigeria's Lagbaja's (Bisade Ologunde's) charge to the citizenry to jealously guard Nigeria's fledgling democracy in his track "Three Gbosa":

Original Text	Translation
Ohun ẹlẹgẹ́ ni democracy yí o	*Democracy is fragile*
We must be patient o	*We must be patient [with an affective tone]*
But vigilant o	*But vigilant [with an affective tone]*
Bẹ́ ẹ bá sùn ẹ má ṣe pajú dé o	*Do not sleep with the eyes closed*
Ká máa ṣọ́ wọn tọwọ́ tẹsẹ̀ o	*We must keep an eye on them*
Ojú lalakàn fi ń ṣọrí o	*The crab is ever vigilant*

The complement "vigilant" in line 3 and the directives "Do not sleep with the eyes closed / We must keep an eye on them" all underline the obligation of holding the leadership accountable as citizens. Equally stylistic is the metaphor of the crab as a vigilant animal of the phylum *Arthropoda* with very sensitive eyes with which it monitors its immediate environment. Considered in its entirety, this song text enhances the reader's understanding of Bakare's configuration of citizens as "watchmen/watchwomen" in a democratic setting.

With respect to that setting to which the citizens owe all the enormous obligations outlined by Bakare, he uses the critical stylistic tool of equating and contrasting to structure an appositive relationship between the locale "Nigeria" and the nominal group "our primary place of assignment". Jeffries (2010) specifically calls this strategy an "appositional equivalence". The speaker uses this appositional equivalence to construct an identity of Nigeria as that locale of operation for the citizens. The nominal group "our primary place of assignment" is usually referred to as "PPA" (without the possessive adjective *our*) as an acronym used in popular discourses. While in popular discourses, people get remunerated for discharging

213

certain duties and obligations in their "PPA", whatever obligations the citizens perform in their "PPA" in the present context will be taken as a selfless service to the nation which may not be remunerated but rather taken as a mark of patriotism to one's country of birth. There is the underlying ideology of service to the country with no pecuniary benefits in this political teaching.

Finally, Bakare surmises his overall configuration of leadership-citizenship responsibilities when he projects into the country's future and offers progressive measures for a better Nigeria, emphasising the sense of urgency with which "genuine change" must be effected in the polity:

> It is time to demonstrate leadership, wise judgment and astute public policy that guarantees stable and prosperous nationhood upon a foundation of peace; it is time to build a well-ordered nation with strong institutions dispensing justice; it is time to arise with patriotic zeal to build a great nation such that, years from now, generations yet unborn will look back at their history, not with disdain, but with gratitude to God that our generation preceded theirs.

The excerpt above is composed of three syntactic parallel structures. Parallelism, according to Wales (1989), is a device common in rhetoric which depends on the principle of equivalence or on the repetition of the same structural pattern usually between phrases or clauses. The three parallel sentences in the above extract consist of a notional subject represented by the dummy "it", followed by the equative verb "is" which has different complements. This is a case of parallels where "[...] parallel structures can be used to equate two ideas by placing them in the same position in parallel structures with otherwise identical wording" (Jeffries, 2010, pp. 53-54). By implication, therefore, the three complements "time to demonstrate leadership, wise judgment and astute public policy that guarantees stable and prosperous nationhood upon a foundation of peace", "time to build a well-ordered nation with strong institutions dispensing justice" and "time to arise with patriotic zeal to build a great nation such that, years from now, generations yet unborn will look back at their history, not with disdain, but with gratitude to God that our generation preceded theirs" exhibit a relationship of equation.

Significantly, the stylistic marker of constructing time in the discourse in the repetitive structure "it is time [...]" underlines the sense of urgency with which the issues of national interests should be addressed. Generally, the rhetorical function of the parallel sentences in this extract is that they serve to emphasise that the ideas are equal in importance. Besides, they can add a sense of symmetry and rhythm which makes a speech more memorable.

Knitted into the complements above, the speaker engages the naming and describing tool to highlight his schemes for nation building and the expected results. First, nominal structures such as: "leadership", "wise judgement", "astute public policy", "strong institutions", "justice", and "patriotic zeal" all reflect Bakare's requisite conditions for the county to develop. The use of evaluative adjectives to qualify some of the nouns further strengthens the modification technique of the noun heads. Hence, the adjectives "wise", "astute", "strong" and "patriotic" which qualify the nouns "judgement", "public policy", "institutions", and "zeal" respectively are stylistic markers which emphasise the coveted watershed in the process of nation building as opposed to possibly the hitherto "unwise", "unimaginative", "weak" and "unpatriotic" dispositions which have not positively driven the system. Furthermore, the nominal groups "prosperous nationhood upon a foundation of peace" and "a great nation" capture the envisioned status Nigeria could attain if the audience imbibe the nationalistic traits the speaker is trying to sell to them.

Conclusion

The political teachings analysed in this article underline the trend by some Pentecostal pastors in the Christian fold in Nigeria to engage political matters via the pulpit. In terms of the ideology which underlies the text analysed, the study showed that the text producer is radical in his political teachings to counter the supposedly prejudiced views of the audience. In particular, his redefinition of leadership beyond the parochial conception of some individuals at the corridor of power raised questions about the composition of the real stakeholders in national development. Besides, the ideology of citizenship responsiveness which the speaker weaved into his political teachings is compelling, as citizens in both advanced and emerging democracies now call into question the values of

democracy not only for the states but also for the economic empowerment of the citizens themselves.

It is interesting that the ideological structuring of the discourse is hinged on significant linguistic resources which the study has stylistically analysed. In this regard, the rhetor's predilection for the critical stylistic tools of naming and describing with preponderant use of pre- and post-modification techniques, enumeration, equating and contrasting, and representing time, space and action helped to emphasise the underlying ideology in the discourse which the speaker intended to share with the audience. It is also noteworthy that these stylistic markers generally served as rhetorical strokes for the speaker to make his political teachings sound practicable in a society where the values and norms of entrenching democracy need to be consciously relayed to the people.

To this end, this study underlined the place of Critical Stylistics as a sub-discipline of CDA which could be used to demonstrate how the political-cum-critical discourse analyst could engage as well as transcend contextual considerations to test out the workings of linguistic choice in threading underlying ideology in political discourse. However, a major delimitation of the study is the application of four analytical tools out of the ten proposed by Jeffries (2010) to tease out the ideology underlying a text. The motivation for the exclusion of the other six analytical tools was based on the fact that they were not found to be significant in the data analysed. None the less, it should be noted that their exclusion does not presuppose redundancy. Other texts could be analysed by critical stylisticians where the critical tools not applied in this study and some other relevant ones could be significant in the meaning-making process.

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217

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